Alternative to War—*Broadus Mitchell*

THE *Nation*

February 2, 1952

DATA FOR THE SENATE

Japan: Recovery and Reaction

BY T. A. BISSON

Economic Consequences of Mr. Dulles

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

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"Bombs Bring Us Together"

The N.A.A.C.P. Meets in Jacksonville

BY STETSON KENNEDY

FEB 1 1952

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Cooperative Hospital

Elk City, Oklahoma

A LAW suit pending in the District Court of western Oklahoma brings into sharp focus inherent differences between a prepayment plan for medical services and the fee-for-service theory of most private physicians. Brought by the Farmers' Union Hospital Association against the Beckham County Medical Society, the suit is the climax of twenty years of struggle among the doctors serving the 20,000 people of the area.

The Farmers' Union Hospital Association operates the Community Hospital in Elk City, a typical plains town of some 8,000 people. A cooperative venture, the hospital was started over twenty years ago by Dr. Michael Shadid. A prepayment plan was the essential difference between this hospital and other hospitals in the country at the time. As it has evolved, a family owning a $100 lifetime membership in the hospital pays dues each year according to the number of persons in the family, the maximum being $40. For this, members receive free medical care whether or not they are patients in the hospital or clinic, as well as certain discounts on dental, laboratory, and X-ray work, on room and board in the hospital, and on nursing.

The Community Hospital stands as the first successful attempt to combine prepayment of medical bills with group practice of doctors in an organization financed and operated by the patients who use its services. This idea was so foreign to the thinking of most physicians in 1930, and is today, that they have been fighting the plan all the years of the hospital's existence.

Elk City and the surrounding territory late in 1929 was a grim place. Merchants along Main Street were little better off than the tight-lipped farmers who came to their stores asking again for credit. If illness hit these people they often found themselves wiped out financially. Doctors, what few there were, had patients living thirty to forty miles from their offices. Many farm families actually had no access to a physician's care; to consult a specialist they must go to Oklahoma City or Amarillo, Texas, a hundred miles away.

Shadid, a Syrian-born doctor who had been in the area for twenty years, became obsessed with an idea. He wanted to establish a cooperative hospital where members could pay in advance for illness and therefore budget their medical expenses. He was encouraged to go forward with his plans by a group of progressive farmers and was later given additional support by the Farmers' Union in Oklahoma.

Beginning with a small one-story building and 300 member families, the Community Hospital-Clinic has grown in a little over twenty years to a well-equipped seventy-five-bed hospital, with a new adjoining out-patient clinic building containing thirty examining rooms, X-ray machines, a laboratory, a blood bank, a pharmacy, and a polio ward. The staff consists of seven physicians and two dentists. There are now 2,600 member families.

From the very first Doctor Shadid realized he would get no help from other local doctors. As his plans progressed and the hospital became a reality, their indifference changed to bitterness and then to a professional boycott. Soon after the hospital opened its doors, the Beckham County Medical Society, of which Doctor Shadid had been a member for many years, dissolved and some months later formed again without him. No other member of the hospital's staff has since been admitted to the county society, membership in which is a prerequisite to membership in the A. M. A. Staff doctors have also been barred from postgraduate courses because they were not members of their local society.

The Community Hospital has always had difficulty in obtaining doctors because of the boycott, but the local society has never brought any charges against the quality of the medical care given by the hospital. What the society objects to is the dues plan and the payment of salaries to staff doctors.

Medical economics, as well as the art of medicine, has undergone great changes in this century. Until 1900 both were represented by the "family doctor," an individual enterpriser who undertook to treat all types of human ills. He gave his services to his patients as they needed it and collected what economic system became inadequate as the art of medicine advanced. The vast accumulation of knowledge caused the growth of specialists who developed great skills in a limited field. Now a patient may find it necessary to consult several doctors during the course of one illness. He may have to make use of technicians, laboratories, and hospitals. The old financial arrangement has been continued, however, and for each service the patient receives a separate bill, the sum total of which may leave him in debt for years. The Community Hospital has combined all these services under one roof and offered them on a prepayment plan.

Unfortunately it did this years before the idea of medical insurance was generally accepted. Today there is nothing startling about the prepayment plan on which Dr. Michael Shadid founded the first cooperative hospital in the country. Blue Cross and similar schemes are known to everyone, and most physicians have come to accept the idea of medical insurance in some form. Nevertheless, the boycott against the Community Hospital has continued, as a penalty, doubtless, for being a pioneer in the field. The younger doctors on the staff have suffered from this boycott, and it was largely in their interest that the Farmers' Union Hospital Association, which operates the Community Hospital, finally brought suit against the Beckham County Medical Society.

The suit was filed in June, 1950, against the society and its members. The charge was "conspiracy in restraint of trade," and Thurman Arnold's firm of Washington, D. C., was employed to carry the case to the Supreme Court of the United States if necessary. The outcome may mean many things to many people. If the Community Hospital wins, the users of medical care will have established the right to start their own cooperatives with a prepayment plan. Legal sanction for the A. M. A.'s control of the economic relationship between patient and doctor will, in part at least, have been removed. The role of the American Medical Association will be more clearly defined as that of the guardian of medical standards and ethics, not of medical economics.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FLAMES that spread through Cairo last Saturday was not lost on the commentators of press and radio. There has been much talk since then of how to quench the "fires of nationalism" so as to protect the Suez Canal and the safety of the Western world. But the blaze may have done more than destroy foreign-owned property and demonstrate the lawlessness of the mob. For while it consumed the faded, Victorian-Oriental grandeur of Shepheard's Hotel —as perfect a symbol of the end of empire as could well be devised—it also illumined the whole Middle Eastern scene, making visible broad political contours which have been obscured by detail, by emphasis or treaty rights and the safety of the Canal. Seen from Washington, the blaze clearly revealed, for instance, that no defense strategy based on Africa—no ports or bomber bases, no pacts—will be worth their weight in sand while nationalist passions run unappeased. It revealed, too, the uselessness of trying to secure these things through deals made with compliant governments: the rulers themselves are in equal danger from the flames. Finally, it revealed the folly of continuing to support the desperate, rear-guard efforts of imperialism in retreat—in Egypt, but in Tunisia too, and presently in Morocco, to mention only its African battlefront.

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THE WAY OUT IS NEITHER PLEASANT NOR safe, though hardly more ugly or dangerous than the way of the French in Tunis or the British in Ismailia. It involves acceptance by the Western Allies of certain facts that cannot be altered by force or money or reason. It means recognizing nationalist rebellion and deciding to work with it, even though it is directed against the West. What Britain did with timely wisdom in India, Britain and France will have to do in North Africa, and under much less favorable circumstances, for once the mob is in the streets any pacific gesture looks like capitulation. But experience has shown in India and Israel how fast hatred disappears when the "oppressor" turns friend, and the same change could take place in Egypt. Counsels such as these may be written off in Washington as unrealistic, jeopardizing security and surrendering to open violence. To urge such a course on an ally is doubly difficult. But what is the alternative? Force to the limit? Full-fledged war against Egypt? War spreading across North Africa? It would seem as though no outcome could so completely wreck the grand strategy which our policy is designed to support.

*

SENATOR KEFAUVER'S ANNOUNCEMENT that he is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency and will campaign on the "paramount issue" of peace will be greeted with enthusiasm by all voters anxious to have as wide a choice as possible in the 1952 election. Senator Kefauver is an excellent politician, with a good sense of timing, a rough-and-ready realism, and the all-important will to win. Thanks to his boldness, it seems likely that the democratic situation will be clarified far enough in advance of the convention to make possible a significant test of trends within the party. If it had not been for Senator Kefauver, President Truman would probably have remained noncommittal as long as possible. Now there is a real stir of activity at Blair House, and much talk that Governor Adlai E. Stevenson may be induced to become a Truman-blessed candidate. In Senator Kefauver, Governor Stevenson, and Justice William O. Douglas the Democratic Party has three potential candidates well above the level of leadership represented by Mr. Truman and more acceptable to liberal elements within the party. We hope that Governor Stevenson and Justice Douglas will follow Senator Kefauver's lead and give their friends a chance to support them.

*

LAST WEEK WE SUGGESTED THAT JUSTICE Douglas was available as a possible Democratic nominee. This view has been circumstantially confirmed by the Justice's bold and challenging talk to the Overseas Press Club in New York on January 24. "We are looking disaster in the face," he warned. "You can win Asia with affection, but you can't buy Asia with dollars or get it with guns and bullets." In direct criticism of the State Department, Justice Douglas charged that it had identified itself "with forces that are against the great masses of people in these countries." Calling for assistance to the Asian masses "at the village level" and for measures to improve their living standards by 1 or 2 per cent, he said: "We must make Point Four an entering wedge of an American management revolution. . . . Unless we stop the Communist tide that way, we are going to drift

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into a situation where the political balance will get into Communist hands. . . . All they have to do is to wait and they will win by a default." The United States, he insisted, had missed a great opportunity when it sent Premier Mossadegh home empty-handed: if we had given him support we would have made "every little goatherd in Persia love America." Asked to comment on the significance of recent happenings in North Africa, Justice Douglas replied: "I would certainly tie my kite to some of those Moroccan fellows rather than the French." Finally, to round out this fine talk, he declared, in reply to a question, that he thought Winston Churchill was responsible for our rebuff to Mossadegh. After this speech all we can say is that if Justice Douglas is not available for the nomination, then the art of communicating political intentions has been given a new twist.

*

THINKING HAS ALWAYS BEEN SUSPECT IN high places, and with some reason, but when it is banished from the schools then the citizens should, we think, sit up and take notice. A case in point is the recent action of James T. McGeough, principal of East High School in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, suspending the charter of UNESCO Thinkers, a student club formed to study the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Mr. McGeough moved promptly when he read in the pages of the Providence *Visitor*, official publication of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rhode Island, that UNESCO may be under "atheistic control." This horrid possibility arises from the fact that a scholar assigned to prepare a history for UNESCO is, in the *Visitor's* opinion, an "atheist." When his attention was called to the fact that UNESCO enjoys the official support of the United States, McGeough retorted: "This is a Christian country, and do you think it is a good thing for students to be involved with an organization that denies the existence of God?" It is pleasant to be able to report that McGeough's bigotry has met with the firm opposition of Monsignor Frederick G. Hochwalt, general secretary of the National Catholic Educational Association, who not only defended the "high moral tone" of UNESCO but reminded its critics that the preamble and constitution were largely the work of Jacques Maritain, noted French Catholic philosopher. McGeough, a former teacher and athletic coach in the school system, is said to owe his appointment to the local Democratic machine, which, as *The Nation* reported last summer (June 16), tells the Pawtucket school authorities what to do.

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ROBERT A. (MR. REPUBLICAN) TAFT, THANKS to his gyrations on the subject of McCarthyism, is rapidly forfeiting the reputation he once enjoyed as a forthright and upright man, concerned about the

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decencies of public life, and is revealing himself as just another politician. In March, 1951, he disgusted many of his former admirers when he said that "whether or not Senator McCarthy's charges went too far, an honest government would have probed them to the bottom." Last October he seemed to be having second, and better, thoughts. "I don't think," he said, speaking of his Wisconsin colleague, "that one who overstates his case helps his case." But now, hunting delegates in Wisconsin, he has slipped again. "Certainly McCarthy's investigation," he assured a meeting at Beloit on January 21, "has been fully justified by repeated dismissals of employees of doubtful loyalty, by revelations regarding the insincerity of the State Department's Loyalty Board, by the dismissal of Service, and by other evidence." And to show his own complete surrender to the spirit of McCarthyism, Mr. Taft went on to make the fantastic charge that "this Administration has been dominated by a strange Communist sympathy," a revelation which will certainly be news to the Kremlin. At Beloit, according to a New York *Times* reporter, Mr. Taft's references to McCarthy were greeted with mild applause; at Monroe, where he repeated them the next night, the audience was silent. Perhaps McCarthyism is not such a winning card even in Wisconsin.

*

INCIDENTALLY WE LEARN FROM *NEWSWEEK* that the Loyalty Review Board is worried about the leaking of its secret minutes to Senator McCarthy. Apparently some member of the board, instigated by the Senator, is committing the very offense for which the board recommended the dismissal of John Stewart Service —the disclosure to an unauthorized person of classified information. We hope Mr. Taft will investigate.

The Budget

THE budget for 1952-53 submitted by the President to Congress on January 21 takes the nation still farther into the financial stratosphere. Expenditure is set down at $85,400,000,000—about two-and-a-half times Britain's total national income, as the London *Times* points out. Revenue is estimated at $71,000,000,000 on the basis of present taxes, so that although this sum exceeds any war-time tax bill, we still face a prospective deficit of $14,400,000,000.

As soon as these monstrous totals were made known, the air of Capitol Hill rang with the sounds of knife-sharpening and ax-grinding. This, however, is an annual ritual which it is difficult to take very seriously, since one Congressman's pet economy usually turns out to be another's "pork." Moreover, very little analysis of the budget is required to show that drastic surgery is impossible without drastic revision of the whole defense program—a fact Congress shows little inclination to face.

Of the proposed total expenditure $65,100,000,000, or about 76 per cent, represents the cost of the "major security program, including foreign aid and atomic development." All other government functions, including some "defense-connected" projects, will take $20,300,000,000, almost a billion dollars less than in the current fiscal year. Just about half of this total is required for interest on the public debt and for veterans' services and benefits—the first an untouchable item, the second hardly less so. That leaves about $10,000,000,000 for everything else—general administration, tax collection, the Post Office, social welfare, agriculture, development of public resources, rivers and harbors, and so forth. If all these functions were abolished—and even Senator Byrd hardly goes to such lengths—we should still be in the red.

Of course Congress may succeed in trimming the deficit to some extent, but if it does, the probability is that it will cut in the wrong places. In an election year, for instance, it is unlikely to turn down the President's request for larger appropriations to support farm prices, although agriculture would seem well able to prosper without government aid under present circumstances. On the other hand, proposals for more expenditure on public health and more aid for education, for which a strong case can be made on the basis of the appallingly high percentage of selective-service rejections because of physical unfitness or illiteracy, may well be turned down in the name of economy.

Many Congressmen are promising to scrutinize sharply defense as well as civilian expenditures, and undoubtedly they can find fat there which can be trimmed. But at best they will save millions rather than billions. For one thing, most of the money that will actually be spent in fiscal 1953 has already been appropriated, and on July 1 industry will have in hand orders for military equipment totaling some $60,000,000,000.

Thus even if Congress decided to cut down the defense program, it would find it difficult to diminish appreciably total expenditure for the coming fiscal year. But it can influence expenditures in future years by giving careful consideration to the Pentagon's plans for expansion of the armed forces which the President indorsed in his message. These plans call for an air force of 143 wings—48 more than at present authorized by Congress—an army of 21 divisions instead of 18, and a navy of 408 "major combatant vessels," with 16 carrier air groups against 392 vessels and 14 air groups. It is the duty of Congress to review these proposals and decide whether such an enlargement of our forces is in fact vital to security. For once it approves this Pentagon blueprint, it will find it has lost all control not only of the current budget but of those for several years ahead.

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Arab Refugees: A Long Step Forward

THE United Nations resolution on Arab refugees is a long step in the right direction—provided the intentions of the U. N. Works and Relief Agency are brought to practical realization.

For the first time since 1948 the emphasis has been shifted, by the resolution, from relief to resettlement. A fund of $250,000,000 was voted of which $200,000,000 will be used for reintegration and $50,000,000 for relief; it is to be raised by voluntary contributions of member states. The refugees are to be settled in the countries where they are now found, and a number of projects, agricultural and industrial, will be undertaken as part of the economic-reintegration program. A time limit of three years is set for accomplishing the resolution's objectives.

Whether this is the final word on the Arab-refugee problem remains to be seen. Well-wishers of the project have reason to be concerned about several aspects of the resolution as adopted.

First, there is its reiterated emphasis on the right of the refugees to repatriation—which means in Israel. There is no chance whatever that this can be brought about, since the former homes of the Arabs are occupied by Jewish immigrants. In any case, a fundamental contradiction exists between voting a fund of $200,000,000 for resettlement and insisting, under Arab pressure, on repatriation. Insistence on repatriation could give a wholly tentative character to the reintegration program.

Second, the resolution provides that reintegration shall take place in the countries now sheltering the refugees. This means that countries with comparatively small economic resources will bear the principal burden, while countries with large possibilities will play either no role or a minor one. Iraq and Syria, given the necessary funds, could most easily absorb the refugees since both countries are underpopulated, but they will not be expected to take many—a regrettable fact from the standpoint both of the refugees themselves and of the economic future of the two countries.

Iraq, for example, with some 4,000 refugees, is not included in the plans of the U. N. Works and Relief Agency. Yet this country, with the richest natural resources of any Middle Eastern state, must double its population through immigration in order to develop them. The International Development Advisory Board has expressed the view that Iraq alone could absorb all the Arab refugees were its possibilities developed. Second in its capacity to absorb immigrants is Syria, where only 80,000 refugees are to be found. Syria needs at least 3,000,000 more settlers to develop its land alone.

Under the present U. N. plan Jordan, with a refugee population of some 465,000, and Lebanon, with 170,000, will carry the principal burden, though they have far more limited resources than either Syria or Iraq. The economic fate of some 200,000 refugees on the narrow land strip of Gaza, held by Egypt, is problematical if the present proposals are literally adhered to.

The third question is: Will the refugee population at the end of the three-year period be able to stand on its own feet, considering current conditions in the Middle East, unless plans are made simultaneously for developing the area and raising the living standards of the native population? There is no provision for the latter under the present scheme.

In our judgment the proposal submitted to the United Nations in December by a group of nineteen distinguished Americans, since joined by 131 other leaders of American opinion, offers at once a more practical and a more imaginative solution. It eliminates the basic contradiction in the U. N. plan by demonstrating the impossibility of repatriation and the necessity of permanent resettlement. It proposes resettlement in countries which would themselves benefit by receiving the refugees. It opens large vistas of opportunity for economic development and improved living standards. It makes the permanent solution of the Arab-refugee problem a joint responsibility of the international community, the Arab states, and Israel. Under this plan an expenditure of $300,000,000 is proposed for resettlement and of $500,000,000 for developing the natural resources of the countries involved. Such bold and imaginative planning seems necessary if friction is to be minimized and stability increased.

It is shocking to find the delegates of Syria and Iraq still openly urging, without challenge, a "second round" against Israel in the very council chamber where the refugee fund was voted. Even more disturbing is the vacillation of the State Department. The United States will have to contribute at least $50,000,000 a year for the next three years to this $250,000,000 fund. It should be clear to the State Department that the Arab world, for all the growing nationalism and xenophobia in the Middle East, is not yet able to stand on its own feet. It needs financial and technical aid which only the Western world and particularly the United States can provide. But it knows how to bargain for what it wants, while we seem to minimize the value of what we have to offer; the habit of selling ourselves short still persists. It was up to the United States to say firmly that it wished to see a final solution of the Arab-refugee problem, that it was prepared to assure the necessary funds for a solution which would also benefit the native populations, and that it would withhold its aid unless the Arab states stopped making a political football of the problem. The United States should still take this position if it wants the money to be appropriated to serve both the refugees and the ends of peace in the Middle East.

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Japan: Recovery and Reaction

BY T. A. BISSON

AS JAPAN throws off direct occupation controls, the outlines of two broad developments grow steadily clearer. A vigorous economic comeback is under way, and at the same time democracy and the public welfare are being sorely buffeted. The reactionary trend should cause no surprise. When, some years ago, the occupation authorities shelved the reform program as a luxury, they willed the result we are now witnessing. More recently General MacArthur's successor applied the finishing touch.

On May 3, 1951, the fourth anniversary of the adoption of Japan's democratic constitution, General Ridgway authorized the Japanese government "to review existing ordinances issued in implementation of directives from this headquarters, for the purpose of evolving through established procedures such modifications as past experience and the present situation render necessary and desirable." Thus four months before the conclusion of the treaty, which some observers had hoped would underwrite at least the basic occupation reforms, General Ridgway in effect invited the Japanese authorities to scuttle reforms that had become "inappropriate."

Since Japan is still controlled by a set of bureaucrats and business men indistinguishable from the pre-war lot, the invitation was eagerly accepted. The great difference between the present ruling coalition and that which governed the country before the war is the absence of the militarists. Even under a treaty that places no limits on Japan's rearmament, some time must elapse before the militarists can come back in a big way. A large Japanese military establishment is not in the offing unless the United States is willing to pay for it. Next year's estimates include an expenditure of 315 billion yen—37 per cent of the total budget—for military purposes. Of this Japan's contribution to American military costs will take 180 billion yen ($500,000,000); the rest will be spent on its own armed forces.

Japan is able to sustain this sizable military expenditure for two reasons. The United States-Japan payments agreement effective July 1, 1951, transformed previous occupation costs of 100 billion yen into a much-reduced domestic charge of 35 billion yen (Japan's military contribution) and a nice credit of $160,000,000 (United States payment to Japan for facilities provided American forces). No less important is the current high level of economic activity and foreign earnings. Unlike Britain, Japan added to its foreign-currency holdings in 1951. On March 31, under the weight of heavy import charges, the Japanese reserve fell to $447,000,000 as against $519,000,000 at the end of 1950. On August 31 it had risen to $590,000,000, on September 30 to $667,000,000, and preliminary figures for October indicated $730,000,000 or better.

A year or two ago few could foresee that Japan would emerge from the occupation era paying its own way. Both policy and accident have contributed to the result. In 1949, after far too long a delay, the occupation authorities finally compelled the Japanese leaders to adopt an economic program that stopped inflation and insured maximum returns from large imports of aid from the United States. In mid-1950 the Korean war brought a steady stream of American dollars into the country. In mid-1951 imports from the United States ended and Japan stood on its own. How well it is succeeding in supporting itself may be gathered from the accompanying table.

At first glance it may appear that Japan slipped badly in 1951, but this is not so. The trade totals are far larger, in spite of much smaller aid imports. Imports had to be increased early in 1951 to compensate for a lag in the last half of 1950. By July this excess was paid for, and trade figures for later months show a continuing positive balance.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN-EXCHANGE ACCOUNT
(*in million dollars*)

	1950 Jan.-June	*1950 July-Dec.*	*1951 Jan.-June*	*1951 July-Sept.*
Exports	300.1	472.7	653.9	323.0
Invisible trade (net)	51.6	152.2	323.2	207.4
Total	351.7	624.9	977.1	530.4
Imports	287.3	358.2	987.0	398.2
Balance	+64.4	+266.7	−10.1	+132.2
U. S. aid imports	213.0	148.0	75.0	0.0

Korean war procurement largely accounts for the striking gain in Japan's invisible trade receipts. But normal merchandise exports stand at more than twice the 1950 level. Since July the $160,000,000 annual United States payment—not included in the foreign-exchange account above—has further strengthened Japan's foreign-exchange position.

While the end of the Korean war would place a strain on Japan's dollar-payments position, its ability to earn dollars in other ways is improving. If invisible

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trade receipts are estimated at $700,000,000 for 1951, about $300,000,000 will be earned on non-procurement items, the major sources being foreign spending in Japan and steadily growing receipts from shipping. The American forces in Japan will continue to pay $160,000,000 annually, on a conservative estimate, for various Japanese facilities. Payments for Japanese goods and services directed to Korean reconstruction will be in dollars. Continued moderate increases in Japanese exports to the United States may be expected unless tariff barriers are raised.

Japan can also save dollars by shifting imports away from the United States. The new sterling-payments agreement with Britain forces Japan to spend all sterling balances in the sterling-area, and Japanese trade officials are looking for sterling-area imports to replace purchases of American goods. China would provide a more substantial alternative; Japan's 1951 trade gains were achieved without benefit of China, either as market or supplier. Lack of Chinese coking coal and iron ore, nearby and therefore cheap, has severely handicapped Japan's iron-and-steel industry. Higher steel costs are spreading into the machinery, metal, shipbuilding, and other trades, leaving textiles to carry an undue share of the export burden and thereby intensifying competition with Lancashire. Japan is well aware that its foreign trade can hardly be increased—even in 1951 it was less than half the 1934-36 volume—if trade with China fails to develop on a considerable scale.

MERELY to maintain the trade position gained in 1951 is not enough. Living standards are below the pre-war level, and the population is multiplying rapidly. In 1953 Japan must face added charges of some 50 billion yen on such items as renewal of foreign-bond service, reparations, and compensation for Allied nationals' property losses. Above all, its economy needs a large infusion of new capital. A severe power shortage in the fall of 1951 showed that the high industrial production was pressing on the fuel and power output. Coal mines have been newly equipped only in part. The electric-power industry, recently returned to private ownership, is in poor shape.

It is clear, then, that further increases in Japan's foreign trade are necessary if pressing requirements are to be met. But meanwhile the Japanese leaders give no indication that their domestic economic policies are devised with a view to the general welfare. On the contrary, they have consistently manipulated government policies in the interest of their own narrowly based group.

In 1950 industrial production, along with farming, forestry, and fisheries, was nearing 1934-36 levels. Population was at 120 per cent of the figure for those years, and the living standard at 82 per cent—the urban standard, however, was only 73, the rural standard being 93. During the first six months of 1951, though industrial production was soaring far above the pre-war level, the urban living standard fell to 67 per cent. Profits rose steeply during the same period in cotton spinning, chemical fiber, and some other industries, though not in basic industry. In August official staple food prices rose 18 per cent and electricity rates 30 per cent, with further increases expected in gas and water rates and in the official prices of salt and sugar. When a tax cut was promised as an offset, the *Nippon Times* (August 7) said editorially: "If tax cuts are to have any real meaning, they must be made on the foundation of a stabilized economy which will not wipe out their benefits."

Joseph M. Dodge, the occupation's financial adviser, on being hurriedly recalled to Japan last fall seems to have made much the same point to Finance Minister Ikeda, who is reported to have "talked back" sharply. One result, however, was an announcement by the government that it would postpone the projected measures to decontrol rice and other food staples which had called forth embittered comment in the Japanese papers. Editorials argued that the urban family, with rationing abolished, would pay still higher food prices, and that the gain to the millions of small farmers would be problematical—they would have to sell their meager surpluses at harvest time, and the rice dealers would reap the benefits of price fluctuations. While Mr. Dodge sought to deal with the Finance Minister, the head of SCAP's Labor Division, Robert T. Amis, was deploring a swing "toward the right" in labor relations marked by coercion of workers into company unions and denial of collective bargaining.

Their confidence now fully restored, Japan's business leaders have become quite frank about occupation reforms. Reporting an interview with Ryutaro Takahashi, who entered the Yoshida Cabinet on July 4 as Minister of International Trade and Industry, the *Nippon Times* of July 6 said: "He called the anti-monopoly law passé. It needs to be changed, he added, as there is no more use for its restrictive provisions under the present economic society. . . . Another regulation, he said, which might just as well be junked is the trade-association law." He told Japanese business men, the paper continued, to "prepare themselves for a return to the international market. To attain this end he asked for all-out attempts to trim costs."

Occupation-sponsored labor legislation is due for a thorough overhauling. Foreign traders might do well to follow the revision of the Labor Standards Act. The president of a Japanese chemical company has said: "If real improvement of working conditions is desired, it will be necessary to give some flexibility to the application of the law. Some lowering of standards, too, may

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be needed" (*Oriental Economist,* May 26). Abolition of the Labor Ministry is scheduled for 1952.

The land reform has already been seriously undermined. The Yoshida Cabinet destroyed the law's chief protective features when it voided the price-and-sale restrictions on farm lands. In the opinion of the *Nippon Times,* this "could very easily lead to a revival of the former system of large land holdings controlled by a few individuals." The same editorial (September 25) noted that former landlords have "lost some of their excess holdings, but they are comparatively well-to-do and are taking a leading role in the affairs of their villages." Under the free-market conditions now being so rapidly restored, many of the new farm owners may find they hold their land on short tenure—for the period that an agricultural crisis can be staved off.

SIGNS are no less ominous in the political sphere. A projected control law applying to the press, demonstrations, general strikes, espionage, and illegal organizations has raised a loud outcry, but the Diet is expected to pass it. *Nihon Keizai,* a conservative paper, commented editorially on September 25: "Excessive control might lead to revival of a fascist or ultra-nationalistic trend. Democratic labor or social movements and any opposition to the government are liable to be suppressed in the name of the control of Communists."

Under a new Ministry of Public Security which, with its special-investigation force, marks a long step toward revival of the Home Ministry abolished in 1947, a centralized national police force will be reconstituted along the old lines. The move became a certainty last fall when hundreds of local communities, discouraged by their inability to raise adequate funds—lucrative tax sources being controlled by the center—voted to give up their autonomous police forces. *Tokyo Shimbun,* while admitting (July 26) that more effective police enforcement would result, nevertheless deplored "creation of a centralized police system which might help cause a relapse into the police state of the past." If control of education is also returned to the center, as is probable, two big gashes will have been torn in the occupation-sponsored fabric of local self-government.

Around 1947-48, when the occupation turned from reform to recovery, the point was made that democracy could not grow in an impoverished country. True enough, and the occupation might have acted even earlier to mitigate the hardships suffered by an inflation-ridden populace. But did the argument mean that democracy would be the natural fruit of economic recovery, no matter under whose auspices it came? It now appears that there was nothing automatic about the result. For economic revival to bring democracy it was necessary that the economic program should be in democratic hands and used to strengthen, not jettison, political and social reforms. Otherwise one might well ask: economic recovery to what end?

A strong statement by President Truman that the United States stands behind the reforms introduced under the occupation would help to stem the tide now running in Japan. Such action is necessary if the good-will generated by the constructive measures of the occupation is not to be lost at a time when it is desperately needed to bolster American prestige in Asia.

The Economic Consequences of Mr. Dulles

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

REFERRING to discussions of "grave problems affecting our two countries in the Far East," the communiqué issued at the close of the Truman-Churchill talks said: "A broad harmony of view has emerged . . . for we recognize that the overwhelming need to counter the Communist threat in that area transcends such divergencies as there are in our policies toward China."

Among these "divergencies" was one that had been causing not a little discord in exchanges between the State Department and the Foreign Office—a difference of opinion about future relations between Japan and China. The British thought that this question had been settled last summer when in the course of negotiations on the Japanese treaty John Foster Dulles and former Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison reached an agreement to the effect that Japan was to be left free to decide whether it would recognize the Peking government or Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist regime or neither. However, when Mr. Dulles visited Tokyo in December he apparently strongly urged Premier Yoshida to negotiate a treaty with Chiang. According to Frederick Kuh, Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Sun-Times,* the British ambassadors in both Tokyo and Washington protested that these pressure tactics violated the Dulles-Morrison agreement. As a result, the question was put on the agenda for the Truman-Churchill talks and was threshed out in detail by Secretary of State Acheson and Foreign Secretary Eden.

Mr. Acheson asked that the British agree to allow the Chinese Nationalist government to sign the Japanese peace treaty for Formosa. Mr. Eden demurred on the ground that the long-term interests of the Western

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powers would be served best by permitting the Japanese to decide the matter for themselves—in other words, by honoring the previous Anglo-American agreement. Thereupon Mr. Acheson apparently produced a clinching argument that must now have an ominously familiar ring to British diplomats: unless Chiang was brought into the picture, the Senate might refuse to ratify the Japanese treaty.

The reluctant acquiescence of the British is confirmed by a letter from Premier Yoshida to Mr. Dulles released in Tokyo on January 16. Dated December 24 and apparently held back pending the Washington talks, this letter declares that the Japanese government has no intention of concluding any bilateral agreement with Communist China but is willing to sign a treaty with the Nationalist government of China—"applicable to all territories which are now or may hereafter be under [its] control"—reestablishing "normal relations between the two governments in conformity with the principles set out in the multilateral treaty of peace."

We shall probably be told that this decision represents a free choice by the Japanese government, but any such assurances must be taken with ample salt. As long ago as August 30, according to the Associated Press Washington bureau, Mr. Dulles told Senators who were troubled by the omission of Nationalist China from the list of governments invited to San Francisco that in due course Japan and Nationalist China would make a separate pact. In Tokyo recently he probably had only to hint that failure to take action of this kind would imperil United States ratification of the treaty. The Japanese government, anxious to recover its sovereign status and still dependent on American financial aid, could easily see the wisdom of helping the State Department appease the Senate.

WITH both Britain and Japan persuaded to toe the line, the die has been cast. Let us consider some of the probable consequences.

There will undoubtedly be repercussions in England when Parliament reassembles on January 29, and some blunt questions will be put to Messrs. Churchill and Eden. They will be reminded that during the debate on the Japanese treaty on November 27, Peter Thorneycroft, president of the Board of Trade, assured the House for the government that there was no reason to suppose that the United States government would "do otherwise than leave it to the Japanese government to decide on its own relations with other governments." The same point was stressed by Herbert Morrison, former Foreign Secretary, and Kenneth Younger, former Minister of State, who had represented Britain in the negotiations preceding the treaty. Japan's freedom of decision in regard to China, said Mr. Younger, had been made clear at San Francisco. "Since then I have seen suggestions that some people in the United States would like to make the United States' ratification of the treaty dependent on a prior decision by Japan to recognize the Chinese Nationalist authorities. I hope no such situation will arise. The long-term relations between the two most important countries in Asia must be left to them exclusively."

There are two reasons why so much emphasis was given to this issue. In the first place, the British government has never agreed with Washington about China. It considered—and apparently still does despite the change in its political coloration—that excommunication is a futile policy. It does not like Mao's regime, but it recognizes Mao as the de facto ruler of the Chinese mainland, and it is not prepared to place any bets on a discredited Chiang Kai-shek who is wholly dependent on American subsidies. It believes the effect of American policy has been to cement relations between Peking and Moscow and fears this cement will be hardened by a Japanese treaty with Chiang, which Peking is bound to treat as a hostile move.

The second reason why Britain wished Japan to settle its own relations with China was economic. Britain and Japan have long been commercial rivals in Southeast Asia, and British merchants dread the return of the full force of Japanese competition. A number of members of Parliament, particularly those representing Lancashire textile areas, opposed the treaty because it did not contain restrictions on Japanese production and controls designed to prevent "unfair" competition. The British government agreed with Washington that it would be unwise to hamper Japanese trade in this fashion. On the other hand, it did not wish to see Japan prevented from selling goods to mainland China, its natural market and nearest and cheapest source of raw materials. With that outlet blocked, the result would be redoubled pressure to sell Japanese manufactures in Southeast Asia to the detriment of British trade. However, if the Japanese were allowed to make their own choice, the British thought the clear advantages to be derived from trade with China would induce them to keep open the channels by refraining from permanently antagonizing Peking. Consequently, British defenders of the Japanese treaty sought to soothe its parliamentary critics by making much of their understanding with Washington. Now those critics will have the right to complain that the large majority favoring the treaty was secured on false information.

Many Americans, no doubt, will consider the British attitude selfish and immoral, but two things must be kept in mind. In the first place, Britain's need to expand its exports is desperate: if it fails to do so, it faces national bankruptcy and a catastrophic fall in living standards. Moreover, with an increasing proportion of its metal industries, the mainstay of its export busi-

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ness, diverted to rearmament, it must depend more on sales of textiles, pottery, and other consumer goods—exactly the lines in which Japan derives an advantage from its low labor costs.

Again, Americans should not forget that they are quick to resent Japanese competition in their own commercial bailiwicks. In fact, now that Japanese china, glassware, sewing machines, toys, and other specialties are returning to the American market in growing volume, cries of "unfair competition" and calls for higher tariffs or quotas or both are loud and numerous. Shipping interests are demanding steps to check the revival of the Japanese merchant marine, although a larger fleet becomes an economic necessity as Japan is forced to reach for more distant markets. On the West Coast there is strong agitation against rising imports of Japanese tuna fish, and the House of Representatives has already been persuaded to pass a bill imposing a 3-cents-a-pound tariff on frozen tuna. What line, one wonders, will Senator Knowland of California, who has actively sought to block Japanese trade with Communist China, take on this measure when it comes before the upper house?

In opposing such attempts to limit their opportunities in the American market, Japanese business men will certainly stress the point that they are being forced to sacrifice much more substantial interests in the China market. For the time being, criticism may be subdued, because Japan, as T. A. Bisson explains on page 101, is now enjoying a boom based on American procurement of goods and services for the Korean armies. As a result, Japan's dollar reserves are increasing despite a deficit in normal trade with the United States. Even so, the purchase of food and raw materials from America at much higher prices than the same goods would cost in China is a serious handicap to Japanese industry. For instance, Manchurian coking coal, recently imported in comparatively small amounts, has cost about $20 a ton. American coking coal, which is being bought in large quantities as a substitute, costs at least 50 per cent more, owing chiefly to heavy freight charges. When the present abnormal flow of dollars into Japan is stemmed, premium payments of this nature will be very difficult to bear. We should not be surprised, therefore, if before very long the Japanese say to us: "At your behest we have cut off *our* noses to spite Mao's face. What are you going to do to stop us from bleeding to death?"

"Bombs Bring Us Together"

BY STETSON KENNEDY

Jacksonville, January 22

THE terrorists' bomb which on Christmas night killed the militant Negro leader Harry T. Moore at Mims, Florida, and subsequently caused the death of his wife has galvanized Negro leaders all over the South to dedicate themselves to achieving the democratic goals for which Moore gave his life.

On January 19 and 20, 200 delegates representing 100,000 members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in fifteen Southern states met in Jacksonville and adopted a fighting "declaration" which may profoundly affect the future of the South. Florida was deliberately chosen, as one delegate put it, because "bombs do not frighten us; they bring us together."

Addressed to "the world at large, to the South, and to Florida in particular," the Jacksonville Declaration, while adopted in the name of Harry T. Moore, scored "the new technique of lynching as exemplified in the killing of Samuel Shepherd and the wounding of Walter Irvin" in Eustis. It pledged the N. A. A. C. P. to continue the fight for: (1) the right to security of person against the organized violence of lawless mobsters or irresponsible law-enforcement officers; (2) the right to vote as free men in a free land; (3) the right to employment opportunities in accordance with individual merits; (4) the right of children to attend any educational institutions supported by public funds; (5) the right to serve unsegregated in the armed forces of the country; (6) the right to travel unrestricted by Jim Crow regulations; (7) the right to go unmolested among fellow-Americans as free men in a free society.

The *Florida Times-Union* of Jacksonville devoted all of two inches to the conference. On the same day this paper gave a full column to the rantings of the "Reverend" Lloyd King, who in a nation-wide Liberty Network broadcast emanating from Leesburg charged that a "racial-hate organization" (the N. A. A. C. P.) was "stirring up trouble in Florida."

The fighting spirit of the delegates was an inspiring

STETSON KENNEDY, author of "Palmetto Country," has discussed the bombing outrages in Miami and the murder of Harry T. Moore in Mims in previous articles.

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thing to see. As was to be expected, it was strongest in the young and the workers, but there were notable exceptions. One laborer said to me, "The trouble with this organization is that the business people who are on top don't reach down often enough to help the workingman in the ditch." On the other hand, William P. Milner, business manager of a funeral home in Bartow, declared on the floor, "As business men who get our money from little people we ought to be willing to spend some of it to help justify our position as leaders." Roy Wilkins, national administrator of the N. A. A. C. P., addressed the delegates as "laborers, workers, and even business men." But the number of limousines parked outside bore testimony that the leadership continues to be weighted with business and professional men who refuse to step aside. Wilkins was heard to say later, "If everybody over forty-eight would drop dead, we young folks would solve this race problem overnight."

THE most violent militant was A. J. Clements, Jr., a Charleston attorney, who roared, "To hell with these social gradualists, these time-not-ripers who say to take it easy! I'm not willing to follow any man who wants to go easy for me winning my freedom!" Mrs. A. W. Simpkins, state secretary from South Carolina, declared, "Like Atlas, we must reach down and touch the earth to gain new strength." The women delegates had been noticeably denied leadership status but displayed exceptional ability from the floor.

Something new in "Southern revolts" broke out when Kelly M. Alexander, vigorous N. A. A. C. P. president for North Carolina and a member of the national board, called upon the conference to "take a look at the list of our national board and see how inadequately represented the South is. As the chief battleground of the struggle the South needs and is entitled to more representation on the policy-making level; we're no Charlie McCarthys!"

As a non-partisan organization, the conference confined itself to attacks upon hate-mongering Dixiecrat politicians. But informal talks with delegates in the corridors revealed that a profound disillusionment with President Truman has set in. Most of the delegates I questioned felt that American Negroes had bet on Truman once too often. Accustomed as they are to broken promises Negroes are as bitter about the "scrap of paper" known as Truman's civil-rights program as they were once convinced of its sincerity. I could not find a delegate who was at all impressed with the wrist-slapping FEPC which the President hastily appointed after federal authorities had failed to make arrests or invoke jury probes in the Florida terrorism.

Wilkins outspokenly placed the real blame for the terrorism upon the governors of Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama. He also referred to the racist fulminations of certain Southerners in Congress. "It is their inflammatory remarks which lead the little imitation Talmadges to conclude that they can go out and bomb and kill with impunity," he declared.

With the Jacksonville police chief and the Duval County sheriff sweating it out in the audience, J. M. Hinton, N. A. A. C. P. president in South Carolina, said: "It's a peculiar thing how the police can always track down every Negro bootlegger and numbers writer, but whenever a Negro is killed by white men they rush in and say 'tell us the story'; and then they close the book. You may be sure that if a white family had been bombed to death, the next morning they would have had a hundred Negroes in jail—*any* hundred." Pointing out that the white people of America should be delighted that fifteen million Negro Americans are eager to cooperate in building a real democracy, Hinton declared: "The future of this world no longer rests in white hands—it is being decided in India, China, Japan, and Africa."

In the same militant vein delegate Lawson of Savannah, a youthful member of the national board, asserted: "Just because Jackie Robinson has been admitted to the ball barks, and Ralph Bunche and Marian Anderson have crept through a crack in the wall, doesn't mean that we're all satisfied. We are standing before the wall of segregation and we will not be moved until it comes tumbling down! If the Talmadges and Russells do not have sense enough to get out of the way, it will just have to fall on their stupid heads! Harry Moore is dead because some of us have not stood up." Wilkins hit this nail on the head again when he said, "Too many white people in the South—and nation too—embrace the formula: 'Uncomplaining Negroes plus unchallenged whites equal peaceful race relations.' "

QUITE properly the conference stressed political action as the basic means of combating terrorism, discrimination, and segregation. A committee composed of the N. A. A. C. P. presidents in fifteen Southern states was set up to correlate the job of doubling the number of Negroes registered as voters. "We must fight for our political rights on the local level," Mrs. Simpkins insisted. "You can't hit a man unless he is close to you. While it's a fine thing to be able to vote for President, we need to help elect the sheriff and chief of police too." The Reverend Mr. Mann, vice-president for Georgia, described how he had successfully overcome fears by inaugurating a "Meet Me at the Courthouse" campaign, in which he called upon every member of his congregation who would meet him at the courthouse the next morning to register to stand up and be counted. Almost all who promise follow through, he said. A minister from Montgomery, South Carolina, told of

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launching a registration drive. Officials in his state identify Negro registrants by putting a small *n* after their names, and this Jim Crowism is being turned against itself by the N. A. A. C. P. chapter, which consults the books to determine which Negroes have qualified. Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham *Daily World,* reported that some Alabama counties open the registration books only during the plowing season and that in others the registrars often go fishing on registration days. A delegate from Richland County, Georgia, said that a Talmadge henchman had locked up the books "pending further legislation."

When one of the Arkansas delegates extolled the N. A. A. C. P.'s organization of his state on a city and county basis, without any white representation, Attorney Clements retorted, "I resent the presentation of that kind of plan to this kind of organization. The N. A. A. C. P. opposes segregation, and yet some of its chapters still go in for segregated political action. We have got to act purely as citizens in a democracy."

Much attention was devoted to the problem of increasing N. A. A. C. P. membership, but no one suggested that this might be directly related to program. In the conference's host city of Jacksonville, with 112,000 Negroes, there are but 250 N. A. A. C. P. members, and no N. A. A. C. P. office is listed in the telephone directory. Mrs. Ruby Hurley, national organization chairman, frankly argued that the new drive should not be intrusted to the established membership committees of the branches, which she said "are in the habit of doing nothing all year." She even told of finding branch presidents who had not yet opened their N. A. A. C. P. Christmas-seal packets for 1950. No very promising method of gaining new members was suggested.

Yet all in all, the South-wide N. A. A. C. P. meeting called as a memorial to Harry Moore was an impressive affair; its undercurrents were strong and its promise for the future was great.

Rebuilding Shattered Korea

BY WALTER SULLIVAN

Paris, January 21

NO COUNTRY has ever been more completely laid waste by war than Korea. So states J. Donald Kingsley, who has been assigned by the United Nations to repair the damage. Before the war the Korean Peninsula was one of the three most intensively industrialized areas of the Far East—the others being Japan and Manchuria. Korea under the Japanese had the biggest complex of chemical industries in non-Soviet Asia, submarine shops, and many other large manufacturing enterprises. Today these industries are totally ruined.

The loss of life has been appalling. United Nations experts estimate that one out of every nine men, women, and children in North Korea has been killed. The maimed are seen everywhere. High on the U. N.'s list of requisites for Korean reconstruction is a factory to make artificial limbs. In South Korea roughly 5,000,000 people have been displaced and 600,000 homes destroyed. Official reports describe 100,000 children as "unaccompanied." Two-thirds of them are wandering on the highways facing Siberian winds and winter snow.

There are small consolations. Since ground fighting for the past six months has been confined to the vicinity of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, other areas have been granted a breathing spell, and under the pressure of military requirements the transport system has been patched up. It may even be more efficient than before the war, what with temporary bridges, highways widened or straightened by American bulldozers, and the port of Pusan dredged by the United States army engineers. Grounds for hope are also found in the plans of United Nations relief and rehabilitation experts, who expect to spend $250,000,000 in the first year after the army turns the job over to them—perhaps even more now that transport recovery has made the Korean economy more capable of absorbing aid.

But numerous questions darken the future. When will the army let go its hold on the South Korean economy? When will the complementary economies of North and South Korea be reunited? Will the South Korean regime allow ineptitude, corruption, and runaway inflation to block recovery? Will peace really come to Korea with a cease-fire, or will Syngman Rhee's government be shaken as before by guerrilla activity and internal dissension?

Korean unity now seems a long way off. It may not come until the end of the cold war. Meanwhile the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) has no plans for sending aid to North Korea, though there is nothing in writing that forbids it to do so. UNKRA was conceived at Lake Success more than a year ago on the eve of General MacArthur's ill-

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WALTER SULLIVAN, New York Times *correspondent in Korea in 1950, is now in that paper's U. N. bureau. This is the third of a series of articles on the problems of peace in Korea. Next week Yongjeung Kim will discuss the internal political difficulties, and Owen Lattimore and W. McMahon Ball the international aspects of a settlement.*

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fated "home-by-Christmas" offensive. In the discussions in the Economic and Social Council the Soviet Union favored a relief program in whose formulation "Korean representatives" would take part. Its views were not accepted, and it opposed the final plan for Korean reconstruction. This plan assumed that most if not all of Korea would be under United Nations control. U. N. relief machinery was expected to move north gradually, taking over from the army. UNKRA's directive provides that its area of operation shall be determined by what is technically the highest United Nations authority in Korea—the U. N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK). UNKRA has been informed by UNCURK that it can operate in areas under the administration of the South Korean government. Presumably it will also be allowed to work in the strip north of the Thirty-eighth Parallel but south of the new cease-fire line.

THE "Statement of General Policy" guiding UNKRA is in many respects similar to the regulations governing American post-war aid. Inspection by U. N. personnel of warehouses, distribution facilities, and records is stipulated. Korean authorities are required to publish the source of the aid, keep records, and make whatever reports are demanded by UNKRA. It was because of such provisions that the Eastern European countries first rejected Marshall Plan aid. The Democratic People's Republic in North Korea would probably also refuse to comply with them.

The division of the Korean Peninsula will make the task of reconstruction more prolonged and expensive, as the American representative on the Economic and Social Council pointed out at Lake Success last year when unification by military means seemed near. The South has more rice paddies than it needs; the North an excess of power plants. The rail and highway networks were built for a unified country. There is still some talk of exchanging southern rice for northern power if the deal can be arranged, but otherwise it appears that the division along the cease-fire line will be unbridged, the Western nations caring for the South and the nations grouped around Moscow aiding the North.

United Nations planning is entirely in terms of South Korea's needs. The capital loss due to war damage south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel cannot be estimated with accuracy, but J. Donald Kingsley, head of UNKRA, puts it at close to two billion dollars. Priority, according to the UNKRA directive, must be given "to the provision of basic food, clothing, and shelter for the population of Korea and measures to prevent epidemics."

Of the millions of Koreans displaced in the fighting, probably a majority, anxious to salvage what they can of their property, have drifted back to their burned-out homes. Still uprooted are the 150,000 peasants evacuated from a twenty-mile belt behind the front lines. The countless ruined villages are the most terrible and universal mark of the war on the Korean landscape. To wipe out cover for North Korean vehicles and personnel, hundreds of thatch-roofed houses were burned by air-dropped jellied gasoline or artillery fire.

The countryside has been almost stripped of wood, but clay, mud, and straw for rebuilding the villages are at hand. The needed machines, generators, rolling stock, mining equipment, and livestock must be shipped in. Roughly 200,000 draft animals have disappeared in the past eighteen months, most of them slaughtered for food by soldiers or refugees. The absence of oxen seriously impairs food production, and UNKRA wishes that 20,000 new animals—mostly oxen and breeding stock—could be imported before spring planting. In many areas the irrigation system on which rice cultivation depends has been badly damaged; where the ditches are still sound, there may be no water because the pumping stations get no power. Fertilizer, formerly Korea's chief import and necessary to rice production, is in extremely short supply.

ORIGINALLY UNKRA was not to start its program until the army said the fighting was over, but last July, in view of the prolongation of the war, it obtained General Ridgway's consent to a limited amount of work. While relief remained in the hands of the Eighth Army's Civil Assistance Command and the army also continued to rebuild railways, electric-power systems, and other facilities important to its operations, UNKRA was allowed to send in a small team of experts for long-range planning, high-level technical assistance to Rhee's government, and certain other projects approved by the army. The shifting masses of refugees—sometimes a million on the move at one time—are still an army problem. Almost the entire population of Seoul fled when the fighting drew near. In their absence half the homes, three-quarters of the office buildings, and more than 80 per cent of the factories were leveled. Now the former residents are pouring back by the thousands and setting up shop in shanty towns, presenting a serious problem for a city without water or lighting utilities.

The army did not consider the refugee problem critical as long as the refugees were orderly, out of the way, and not a health threat to the troops. United Nations officials say that within that framework the army has done a good job. There have been no major epidemics. About 6,000 refugees are in the emergency hospital at Seoul, some with smallpox, some with typhus, but scattered outbreaks of these scourges have been checked. Health teams stationed along highways have inoculated the tide of humanity and dusted them with DDT. A third of these medical workers are from specialized United Nations agencies and the Red Cross. Most of the rest belong to the army medical corps; there

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are some civilians and Scandinavian volunteers. The army has also been handling several of the biggest jobs undertaken by E. C. A. before the war—for example, the distribution of fertilizer, cotton, and lumber.

Once fighting has stopped, the army is supposed to turn over the relief job entirely to the U. N., but there are indications that the brass may not consider the combat phase permanently ended by a cease-fire. U. N. relief officials anticipate American military occupation for a considerable period but hope the army will loosen its grip on the economic structure of the country and let civil agencies take over. They feel that the change-over from military to civilian control must be abrupt and complete. The U. N. must have freedom to use the ports and railways and be given custody of relief supplies now stockpiled in Korea or en route. Otherwise, it is argued, there will be a dangerous gap in relief services.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty faced by the relief program in Korea is inflation. As a brake on spiraling costs the E. C. A. required Rhee's government to deposit in a "counterpart fund" sums equivalent to the value of all relief imports. This is also required by UNKRA, but inflation is as much a danger as before. "We are ground between two millstones," a relief official complained recently, "the army and inflation."

Mindful of E. C. A. experience in South Korea, the U. N. General Assembly a year ago spelled out in bald terms what the government must do. Adequate measures, it said, must be taken by the Korean authorities to see that relief was effectively employed. "Special attention should be given to measures to combat inflation, to sound fiscal and monetary policies, to the requisite pricing, rationing, and allocation controls." There should also be "prudent use" of Korean foreign exchange and, the directive added hopefully, "efficient management of government enterprise." (Kingsley said recently that he hoped some of South Korea's state-owned industry could be reorganized on mixed public-private lines or into cooperatives.) Relief was not to be used as a political weapon. "All classes of the population shall receive their equitable shares of essential commodities without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief." The directive also declared that the program was intended to strengthen Korea's political independence and must not be used "for foreign economic and political interference in Korea's internal affairs."

UNKRA's problems are parallel in many respects to those faced by UNRRA after World War II. A number of former UNRRA employees are now in UNKRA. Kingsley served for some time as head of the International Refugee Organization. These men believe that, given a free hand, they can put the Korean economy on its feet in five years. At present they are trying to get permission from the army to undertake the most urgent tasks—cattle imports, restoration of the fishing fleet, dredging of small harbors, building of power plants, schools, and housing, and care of orphans. Kingsley believes that the first-year allocation of $250,000,000 for his agency will permit restoration of roughly half the damage to utilities, fisheries, and transport, 40 per cent of the damage to forests and agriculture, and 18 per cent of the damage to industry and mines.

THE relief program will play a vital role in the country's political future. As in the period before the war, South Korea is bound to face keen economic competition from North Korea. Though the destruction is probably greater in the North, the North Koreans can be expected to work fast, and they will undoubtedly receive aid from China and the U. S. S. R. In addition, the spirit of the workers, the elimination of corruption, and the Spartan governmental discipline will give a strong boost to recovery.

American officials in Seoul conceded before the outbreak of hostilities that North Korea had far outdistanced South Korea in economic achievements. The South was forever floundering in inflationary crises, rice shortages, and a drastically unfavorable trade balance. In North Korea on the other hand, exports were in excess of imports, prices were stable, and industry was expanding at a steady pace. The lead of the North certainly represented more than that region's initial advantage in industrial development. The shops at Inchon, seaport of Seoul, where submarines were built under the Japanese, hardly turned out a dinghy under the South Korean government. The morale of South Korean workers was undermined by the activities of the Taehan Youth Corps and the police. The tuberculosis rate in some factories was put officially at over 80 per cent, and American advisers complained that skilled miners could not be trained because their life expectancy was only about two years.

Although the United States has spent hundreds of millions to bomb, burn, and lay waste Korea, Congress refused to approve the $162,500,000 pledged by the United States toward the first-year relief fund of $250,000,000. Instead, it allocated $50,000,000 or less of unexpended E. C. A. funds, and even this sum is not yet available to UNKRA. Canada, with its far smaller resources, has given $7,000,000. The attitude of some Congressmen seems to be: "We protected them from aggression, let someone else do the relief job." Others argue that the money will be wasted by corrupt and inefficient South Korean officials. These are not valid reasons for skimping on our aid. To the same degree that the United States assumed responsibility for the fighting, it should undertake the reconstruction. To fail in this respect will only strengthen the lingering memory among the people that much of the devastation was caused by American arms.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE most rewarding thing about "Winds of Morning" by H. L. Davis (Morrow, $3.50) is its evocation of Western country, morning, noon, and night. In comparison, both the plot and the characters seem rather inconsequential, and the action which held me to the end was the progress of a bunch of scruffy horses from a settlement cluttered with fences and railroad tracks to open country, where they would have room to run. The time is early spring, and Mr. Davis has written a fine documentary of the land and the season.

The principal character, Old Hendricks, has possibilities to begin with. He is one of the original settlers of the region but has been away for years, having skipped the country to get away from his progeny. As the book opens, he has returned to look things over, both the country and the people. He has fallen into the job of herder of the horses, for his keep; when their owner throws up title to the bothersome animals, Old Hendricks comes into possession of them. In the course of the trek to the high country Hendricks intervenes in the affairs of various people—most of them related to him in one way or another—and always for their good. The conception is sound enough but smugness creeps in, the wise old-timer turns into a mere do-gooder, and Old Hendricks tends to become an old bore.

The young deputy sheriff, Amos Clarke, who accompanies Hendricks and is also the narrator is a likable chap and pretty convincing—except that one never quite credits, though one is grateful for it, his astounding capacity for summoning up a landscape, complete with sights and sounds and the quality of the air itself. Amos, that is to say Mr. Davis, also has a wonderful command of Western images and sayings. They sometimes give the impression of having been a little too self-consciously laid in, but for the most part they lend strength and distinction to the writing, and their tangy, often puckering flavor lingers like the taste of a chokecherry.

IN "CHOSEN COUNTRY" (Houghton Mifflin, $4) John Dos Passos invokes the American past to explain the present and to intimate the future of his two main characters, Lulie Harrington and Jay Pignatelli. Once again he uses the device of parallel panels. In this case the lives and backgrounds of the progenitors of Lulie and Jay are interpolated at length while the main story waits. This device always seemed to me an irritating substitute for integration and still does, but the "prolegomena" are extremely well done. Indeed, the history of the first Pignatelli and his wife, Katherine Jay, is the best part of the book, and these two people have a stature and substance that young Jay and Lulie never achieve, just as the historical characters in the short biographies of "U. S. A." had more life than the contemporary fictional characters, especially the fictional men in that book. But the characterization in "Chosen Country," of men as well as women, is in general more successful, and the reason, I think, is that it is ridden by no single thesis—in "U. S. A." it was the single over-all conception of our society as a money civilization—to which the fates of the characters have to conform. "Chosen Country", is therefore richer in that unpredictability of behavior and event which creates the basic suspense of good fiction.

From the title one might expect that Dos Passos had gone in for patriotism of the cruder sort—especially since his disillusionment with the radical hopes and activity of his youth has been well advertised. As it turns out, the title is rather arbitrary. The point of the story, as I read it, is that this is not so much the country his characters have chosen as the country they happen to inhabit and are therefore irrevocably involved in. The book is infused, to be sure, with a love of country and of place—it is somewhat similar in this respect to Mr. Davis's "Winds of Morning." But then this element has always been palpable in Mr. Dos Passos's books even when they were most critical of what was going on in his country. Dos Passos recounts, as part of the experience and education of young Jay, the story of his own thirty years' war—the principal episodes of left-wing politics, of enthusiasms and betrayals—but his mood is more historical than polemic. Finally, the story ends happily, with Jay and Lulie resolving to make "this wilderness our house," but the "message" seems to be not that this country is perfect but that its very variety, infinite and as yet unordered, offers reason for hope as well as inducement to despair.

Alternative to War

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM ON TRIAL. By Fritz Sternberg. Translated from the German by Edward Fitzgerald. The John Day Company. $6.50.

STERNBERG'S analysis of modern history not only makes the street cries of world politics seem shallow but casts doubt on the penetration of many who pass for informed statesmen. His well-stocked and fertile mind draws lessons from the continents and the centuries. He gives enough facts, from a wide range of sources, to permit the reader to judge of his conclusions, but primarily this is a work of interpretation. It bundles up in a single volume much that the author has thought and said in a life of learning, observation, and conscientious report.

The superiority of the book lies in the thesis that world events can best be understood in the light of the development of capitalism, including for many countries, but not for the United States, imperialism. Yet Sternberg does not so much enforce a doctrine as use it to illumine the paths he treads. Though he is alarmed at "the danger that a large part of the industrial apparatus of the world will be destroyed, . . . the danger of a long period without history, the danger of a decline into barbarism," he is far from concluding that "things past redress are now with me past care."

He feels that the only chance of checking and ultimately quieting the mortal antagonism between the two world powers—the U. S. S. R. and the United States—lies in building "a pro-

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gressive, democratic Socialist Europe." United and reconstructed, these countries would be industrially and militarily stronger than Russia, "and yet would have not the slightest reason or desire to attack her." This Europe, combining economic progress with political and personal liberty, would be a "third force" between the present two. If given time, it could infiltrate the Soviet Union with principles of individual freedom and beckon the United States along the road of cooperative institutions. A demonstration, in a United Europe, "that a democratic Socialist society can exist and maintain itself" might prove that "the totalitarian Soviet State is not the inevitable alternative to the capitalist system."

This is not a novel prescription, but the author, by elimination of any other solution, and by positive support, invests it with new meaning. The book, however, is anything but hortatory. It is rather the solemn and feeling testimony of a European (now American) who has abundant means of knowing whereof he speaks. BROADUS MITCHELL

New Forms in Art

ABSTRACT PAINTING. Background and American Phase. By Thomas B. Hess. The Viking Press. $7.50.

SEASONALLY," the author writes in his foreword, "new abstract painters appear with unfamiliar forms, created with new ideas, deriving from living traditions. That such appearances recently have been made in America, and in fact that they constitute one of this country's major contributions to contemporary culture, is the subject of this book."

The eighteen painters selected for discussion are, without exception, of expressionist persuasion. Eleven of them were grouped by Ritchie, in the catalogue of last season's American Abstract show at the Museum of Modern Art, as Expressionist Geometric (Tobey, Hofmann, Motherwell, Tomlin, Reinhardt) or as Expressionist Biomorphic (De-Kooning, Gorky, Baziotes, Brooks, Rothko, Pollock). A twelfth (Balcomb Greene) would surely have been similarly grouped if he had been represented by a recent example of his work; likewise the remaining six (Tworkov, Gatch, Bloom, Gottlieb, Kline, Vicente), if they had been represented at all. While I am not happy about classing abstract painters by double abstractions —and Hess is too much interested in the individual artist to bother with such matters—these citations will indicate the direction that the most interesting abstract painting has been taking.

Ritchie's catalogue was limited to a survey of the earlier history of abstract art in America and the grouping mentioned above; the present book bravely embarks on criticism, a criticism which is based on enthusiastic interest. Supplemented by over one hundred reproductions, including twelve color plates of excellent quality, this is an important contribution both as an estimate of the painters and as the debut of a discerning, witty, and courageous critic.

In his lively introduction Hess intimates, without falling into clichés, that abstraction is as old as art itself and that the enduring value of any art lies primarily in its formal values. But he is sometimes dogmatic and, I think, wrong when he denies any artistic worth, in past art, to "species of subject . . . or the moral, political, or subconscious motive of the artist." Is Masaccio's moral grandeur irrelevant, then, and the thematic astringency of Piero? We do not need to pick the bones of Renaissance art to make it intelligible.

The second section, called Background and Paris, sets the stage for the third, called Foreground and New York. These are of equal length: everything considered, the balance of emphasis seems to me to be about right. The inevitable but indispensable survey of European developments is full of bright observations. Bonnard is not so much a belated Impressionist as "an Expressionist of pleasure—as great and heroic a position as is being one of pain." Chirico achieves a "waxy" light. Mondrian's forms are so firmly established that "one of the ironies of modern art will be the refusal of a child in 1982 to see anything in a Mondrian but the façade of a famous building."

I note, in passing, that much of the fine criticism that Hess lavishes on the European precursors is firmly grounded in a sympathetic acceptance of their subject matter and its implications.

In the final section (Foreground and New York) Hess turns perversely general, though he includes enough biography to distinguish individuals and an adequate account of their artistic development to date. The over-all estimates are incisive and sensitively written, but I miss the trenchant analysis of individual paintings which marks the earlier section. My disappointment is not unlike that produced by Greenberg's book on Miró—the criticism sets a fine, heady momentum up to the point of climax, and then unaccountably wobbles.

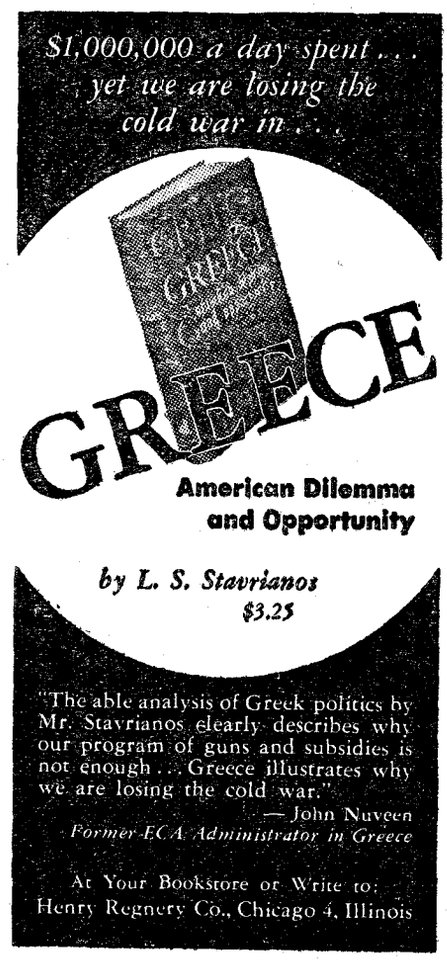
S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Turkey and Iran

THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY AND IRAN. By Lewis V. Thomas and Richard N. Frye. Harvard University Press. $4.25.

THAT the Middle East has become an area vital to the American national interest, few will any longer contest. That this has been wholly a post-war manifestation, many are prone to overlook. That the United States policy of containing the U. S. S. R., as applied to the Middle East, has failed, almost everyone by now is convinced.

Yet the Middle East is also an area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about which most Americans, in and out of government, have acquired either a body of misconceptions or an emotional partisanship. Neither is helpful in developing an informed public opinion, without which even policies maturely conceived may founder. In post-war Washington, however, there has been anything but mature reflection on the Middle East, and in the wake of the current Iranian and Egyptian crises and the lingering Arab-Israel tensions a sense of frustration emanating from Washington has overtaken a growing segment of the public.

Turkey and Iran are the only Middle East countries which abut on the U. S. S. R. They are—or should be—of equal concern to the United States and its Western allies in the cold war. Nevertheless, the first major break at the European end of the Western wall of containment along the extended periphery of the Soviet orbit begins at the Turkish-Iranian frontier. The question immediately arises as to why Turkey has been absorbed into the Western defense arrangements and Iran has not. It is to answering this question that Thomas and Frye essentially address themselves in their respective sections on Turkey and Iran.

Still their book, like all the others in Harvard's American Foreign Policy Library series, is not limited to United States interests in and relations with the countries under review. Thomas and Frye competently and succinctly describe the geography, natural resources, demographic trends, and cultural forces, and then admirably outline the history of Turkey and Iran. Within this context, which forms the bulk of the volume, the authors evaluate the problems and prospects of American responsibilities and policies toward the two Moslem lands. This mechanical treatment is perhaps inevitable, for until a decade ago Turkey and Iran lay entirely outside the sphere of United States national interest.

American missionaries, it is true, have been active in the two countries for well over a century. Until Pearl Harbor, however, the Department of State reflected our isolationist policy toward Europe and western Asia by scrupulously eschewing any entanglements in this Moslem region.

Even during World War II, when Turkey and Iran for the first time were thrust upon Washington's attention, no long-range American programs emerged. The United States government tended to regard Turkey—like the Arab lands to the south—as falling within the British sphere of influence, and such American policy as was articulated aimed primarily at shoring up British defenses and "incidentally [at] exploiting Turkey's neutrality in our own interests." In the case of Iran, United States policy centered on expediting the transport of lend-lease supplies to Russia.

In the final months of World War II and the early post-war period Turkey and Iran became the objects of Soviet aggression, as the Kremlin attempted to chip off the Shah's northwestern provinces and obtain a controlling interest in an Iranian oil concession, and laid claim to bases in the Turkish Straits area and to the northeast districts of Kars and Ardahan. While the United States contributed to the defeat of Russia's immediate designs, it was only with the Truman Doctrine, observes Thomas, that Turkey came into its own in American strategic thinking.

Precisely because the Turkish government and people were united in their hostility to the Soviet Union was there established an immediate identity of purpose between Ankara and Washington. Thomas also notes that American policy did "not involve us in important differences with our English-speaking allies." This was so, he might have added, because Britain enjoyed no special status in Turkey, and American intervention, by keeping the U. S. S. R. out of Turkey, was helping Britain to shield its elaborate interests and privileges in the Arab world from direct contact with the U. S. S. R.

American economic and military grants earmarked for Turkey amounted to some $700,000,000 by 1950. In sharp contrast, American aid to Iran in resisting Soviet pressures in 1946-47 consisted exclusively of diplomatic and moral support. This was indeed indispensable to Tehran in thwarting Russia, and United States prestige reached its height in the fall of 1947, when, with Ambassador Allen's advance public indorsement, the Iranian *Majlis,* or legislature, rejected the provisional Soviet-Iranian oil agreement. Thereafter, despite promises of substantial economic assistance, less than $15,000,000 were allocated to Iran, the bulk of it in the form of credits for the purchase of American war surplus.

Frye tells us that even the Shah, Iran's most persistent advocate of close relations with the United States, finally "criticized the slowness and meagerness of American aid." This Frye believes to have been a capital American failure. While he does not explain the reasons for Washington's parsimony, these may be inferred from his analysis of Iran's ambivalence to the U. S. S. R., the existence of the well-organized and growing pro-Soviet Tudeh Party, and the dependence of Iran's economy on Russia. Even more important was the presence of the British—a factor which entirely escaped the author's notice—who through the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company not only exerted powerful pressures on the Iranian government but resented American meddling. On the other hand, Frye lucidly presents the Iranian viewpoint in the developments leading up to the oil crisis in the spring of 1951.

A summary chapter, written jointly by Thomas and Frye, would have enhanced greatly the value of the study and brought into sharp focus the effects and implications of the contrasting United States policies in Turkey and Iran. Despite this omission the book is a must, for it provides a sound introduction to American problems and responsibilities in these two Moslem lands.

J. C. HUREWITZ

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Release of Energy

THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL. A Chronicle of Economic Mobilization in World War II. By Eliot Janeway. Yale University Press. $5.

HISTORY may be a fable agreed upon, but until the fable takes final shape the deep moans round with many voices. The bits and pieces which will some day make up the story of "the war effort" of the 1940's are still coming in, and the latest contribution is Eliot Janeway's brilliant and often exasperating "The Struggle for Survival."

Mr. Janeway sees some things very clearly, and he pounces on one truth which ought to go into all textbooks on American government: a President who has large affairs to direct does not need to be a good administrator—is, indeed, probably much better off if he is no administrator at all.

As Mr. Janeway abundantly demonstrates, Franklin Roosevelt was an excessively bad administrator. From the start of the struggle with the Axis, the administrative set-up in Washington was terrible, and F. D. R. was forever making it worse—brightly, airily, and for the best of reasons. But Roosevelt was also one of the greatest of Presidents. He saw what had to be done and he got it done expertly, caring not a fig for administration but relying, as Mr. Janeway aptly says, on "the unorganized momentum of American democracy." It could probably be argued—as the author comes close to doing—that great leadership in the White House succeeds, not in spite of administrative ineptitude, but in large part because of it. After all, Hoover was the Great Administrator.

In any case, Mr. Janeway examines the steps by which government was organized to create a victorious war economy—the forgotten War Resources Board, the NDAC, OPM, and SPAB, the War Production Board, and all the rest. The virtue of his book is that he makes clear what was so very hard to see at the time—that the real job was to take the wraps off and release "the anonymous energies of the millions behind whose momentum Roosevelt followed." The machinery was bad and much of it was atrociously operated, but the work did get done—faster and better than the wildest optimist would have dared to hope.

To an extent this study is excellent. What makes it exasperating is what can only be described as the streak of *Time-Life-Fortune* omniscience that runs though it all. Mr. Janeway is never in doubt; he never has to peer through a glass darkly. He can see unbroken patterns everywhere: the fathomless designs of Justice Frankfurter, the devious plots of Harry Hopkins, and the diabolically benign machinations of F. D. R.

Actually, it was never quite that simple. Also, Mr. Janeway is preoccupied with his pet villain, Donald Nelson, for whom he can find no adequate denunciation. If the military finally took control, if reconversion was halted, if greed and reaction finally steered the nation blindly into a post-war era where a world was waiting to be remade—if these deplorable things happened, as indeed they did, Mr. Janeway can see no reason but Nelson's incompetence, duplicity, shortsightedness, and timidity. Really, there was more to it than that.

As a minor matter, Mr. Janeway's fondness for phrase-making now and then betrays him—as when, describing the defense boom as a step in the Roosevelt revolution, he remarks that "it saw Negroes move about in their own Cadillacs, farmers in their own airplanes, hillbillies in their own shoes, and the rich in their own kitchens." That may be fine in the slick-paper magazines, but it hardly belongs in a history.

And it is history to which Mr. Janeway is contributing. His contribution has value, but it needs to be read with a good deal of reserve.

BRUCE CATTON

Verse Chronicle

"COLLECTED POEMS." By Marianne Moore (Macmillan, $3): Here be, as the old maps say, jerboas and pangolins, the plumet basilisk, the tuatera, the aepyornos and the apteryx, pin-swins and wood-weasels, a host of curious specimens, animal, vegetable, and mineral; also artifacts, and quotations from Montaigne, George Shiras III, Alphonse de Candolle, Dostoevsky, Richard Baxter, Xenophon, and many, many others, famous and obscure. Here are also precision and wit, a passionate interest and a reserved manner, irony, craft, an elaboration that counterpoints succinctness, a muting of music and rhyme that sets off the occasionally imperious tone, the *ne plus ultra* of Alexandrian poetry. And do not make the mistake of thinking there is no emotion. Take probity on faith? A rare experience in our time. It is offered us here, and we should be grateful. (At a bargain price, too; for the earlier presentations are some of them out of print.)

"The Third Eyelid," by Frona Lane (Alan Swallow, $2), continues the promise of this house to present in its New Poetry Series interesting "first collections" in compact form. As a matter of fact, Miss Lane carries the compactness pretty far, relying, for effects of wryness and terseness, on omission of articles and considerable use of the imperative mood. Her work with snapshot and flash bulb, as in Clothes-Line and a Balcony, or Niobe-Night, is more successful than her attempt at mural painting, as illustrated by the last poem in the book, Ritual of Purification, which is *over-italicized,* and OVER-CAPITAL-

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IZED. A pleasant little poem, Family Letter, shows what Miss Lane can do by way of variety when she is not being too ambitious.

"First Love, and Other Poems," by Edwin Rolfe (The Larry Edmunds Bookshop, Los Angeles, $2.75), testifies, with elegiac eloquence, to the author's devotion to the people of Spain, his memory of their heroes, whether native or volunteeer: there are chants in praise of Chaplin and Dreiser. Mr. Rolfe's range extends from a controlled sadness, with a good deal of reservation in the statement, as in, for instance, Recruit, to the Latin rhetoric of the next to the last poem in this collection, Elegia, which seemed as authentic in its first appearance, the Spanish translation made by J. Rubia Barcia, as it does in Mr. Rolfe's own English.

Speaking of Spain, if anybody cares to remember, the Beloit *Poetry Journal* has issued as Chapbook No. 1, in paper covers, priced at $1, the "Romancero Gitano" of García Lorca, translated by Langston Hughes. There is an introduction by Robert Glauber, and some illustrations (pretty horrible) by John McNee, Jr. It is high time that these fifteen ballads, Lorca's greatest work, were presented as the unit they are. Mr. Hughes's translations are scrupulous and careful, perhaps even a little too modest; through close fidelity to the line of the text, he sometimes verges on prosy statement, whereas a bit more freedom, a greater concern with line music and resonance, would have come closer to the spirit if not the letter of the original.

In lighter vein, we have "Green Fingers, and Other Poems," by Reginald Arkell (Harcourt, Brace, $2). These are about gardening; their author has won laurels as the creator of a quaint character known as Old Herbaceous. I am, I suspect happily, unfamiliar with the antics of this citizen, but if he reflects at all the author's verse tendencies, he is, I conclude, soapily sentimental and cute enough to puke a buzzard.

Readers interested in the Vassar days of Edna St. Vincent Millay might do well to inquire of the *Vassar Alumnae Magazine* whether reprints of the memorial essay, Vincent at Vassar, by Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, are available to the general public. Professor Haight was Miss Millay's Latin teacher and friend, and this memorial essay is tender and loving without being excessively saccharine. It is also copiously, and charmingly, illustrated, with photographs of the poet that range from school days in Camden, Maine, to the time when she returned to campus as a distinguished alumna reading her poems.

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Books in Brief

THE STORY OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION. By Raymond B. Fosdick. Harper. $4.50. During the last half-century the philanthropic trusts established by the Rockefellers have expended nearly a billion dollars for public welfare, particularly health and education, and for the most part the money seems to have been spent with the same shrewdness and foresight that characterized its accumulation. This excellent book by a former president of the Rockefeller Foundation describes the underlying principles on which these world-wide philanthropies have been based, the techniques of selecting and carrying through the programs, and the results in terms of social betterment and human progress. The senior Rockefeller said, "A man should make all he can, and give all he can." Reading this book one is convinced that, on balance, the world benefited from his success in both endeavors.

THE MARSHALL STORY. By Robert Payne. Prentice-Hall. $5. Another book—and this time a good one—by that fabulously prolific young Englishman now teaching in Alabama who already is the author of forty volumes on the most diverse and unrelated subjects. Written in haste, as all Payne's books must be, and without first-hand knowledge of its subject, it is nevertheless a lucid, readable, and objective study of General Marshall's life, character, and accomplishments, with an especially interesting section on how and why the General was tripped up in trying to solve the Chinese problem.

THE GREAT RASCAL. By Jay Monaghan. Little, Brown. $4.50. The subtitle reads: "The exploits of the amazing Ned Buntline, king of the dime novelists, Buffalo Bill's promoter, soldier, sportsman, Western trader, roué, political manipulator, adventurer extraordinary." Judson (Buntline was his pen name) was a harebrained complete rascal of the last century whose ways of making money were almost as numerous as those of Panurge, and no more scrupulous. Mr. Monaghan's research was thorough, his style is journalistic, his book a slight but interesting addition to the history of low life in America.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE SHRIKE" (Cort Theater) is a rather odd sort of play which begins where Strindberg's "The Father" leaves off. It begins, that is to say, with the arrival in a psychiatric ward of a man whose wife has managed to get him sent there, and it then goes on to the point where he is finally discharged in her custody. This means, so the implication is, that he is right back where he started from, since any time that he rebels against her authority she can have him committed all over again. The total effect is, nevertheless, not quite so Strindbergian as this sounds, because the play turns out to be approximately one-third melodrama, one-third "documentary," and one-third protest against official mishandling of our mental invalids. The author may possibly have read Strindberg, but he has obviously been more influenced by such things as, say, "The Snake Pit" and Mr. Kingsley's pioneer documentary "Men in White." The end result may be a rather grisly sort of entertainment but entertainment after a fashion it is certainly intended to be, and there is a fair chance that it will be accepted as such by a satisfactorily large audience. After all, no other age since the Elizabethan has been so interested as ours is in the madman, and no inconsiderable part of the vast current literature about psychiatry has been marketed as good light reading.

It is as documentary melodrama that this play succeeds best. All the scenes take place in one or another of the wards of a city hospital, and the first, which begins when the victim of attempted suicide by phenobarbital is rolled in and the machinery of the hospital begins to move, is tense and arresting. Presently the wife comes in all tears; the husband finally recovers consciousness; and gradually one begins to realize that the wife is a villain, that she has driven her husband to desperation, and that, consciously or unconsciously, her persistent intention is to get him back into her clutches. The psychiatrists, who appear to be remarkably stupid and more fanatically committed to the social, sexual, and matrimonial proprieties than one has been led to think psychiatrists usually are, never get to understand what the audience soon sees very clearly; they cooperate beautifully with the villainess; and the victim does not get out until he decides to play the hypocrite. He tells the doctors what they want to hear, stages a reconciliation with his wife, and then is left at the final curtain desperate with the realization that he will never be a free man again.

José Ferrer, who generally plays sane men rather wildly, plays this madman with subdued effectiveness, and there is also a skilful presentation of the hypocritical wife by Judith Evelyn. The trouble with the play is that the documentary interest wears out early in the second act and that the hopelessness of the victim's situation is never entirely convincing; so that the whole is not quite real either as tragedy or as social protest. The present reviewer is no lawyer, but he hopes he is not wrong in believing that the commitment in the wife's custody is not unlimited either as to duration or as to the powers which it confers. An old *New Yorker* cartoon showed a lawyer explaining to an indignant lady that she cannot get a divorce exclusively on the ground of insubordination, and I fancy that the point is relevant. My advice to the husband would be to bear up as well as he can for a year or two and then to move into his own apartment. I doubt that he could be summarily sent back to an insane asylum without a hearing or that at such a hearing inability to get along with his wife would be considered sufficient and prima facie evidence of certifiable madness. In other words, the hero of this play is in rather a tough spot, but the author does not succeed in convincing me that it is quite so bad as, for melodramatic purposes, he asks us to believe that it is.

As for the title, which is never referred to in the course of the play, one may explain for the benefit of non-ornithologists that a shrike is a small bird which kills rodents and sometimes other birds, which it either eats immediately or hangs up for future use on a thorn or a barbed-wire fence. I suppose the fact that one would never suspect from its appearance that it has any such bloody habits is the reason for the implied comparison with the wife in this play. Even so the appropriateness is not too striking.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE newest recording of Bach's great Passacaglia for organ (MGM) provides another disappointment. Carl Weinrich plays the work straightforwardly on the organ of Princeton University Chapel; and it must be the acoustic defects of the chapel that cause the opening statement of the theme to come off the record with a counterpoint not written by Bach, and his own lines of counterpoint often not to be clear in the variations and fugue. There is a similar lack of clarity in the A minor Concerto after Vivaldi on the reverse side.

On the other hand Robert Noehren's performances of Bach's Canonic Variations on "Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her" and Chorale and Variations on "O Gott, Du frommer Gott" on the organ of Grace Episcopal Church in Sandusky, Ohio (Allegro), come off the record with admirable clarity. The first piece is one of the matured Bach's ex-

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ercises of prodigious technique with no interesting musical results; the second, which he wrote at the age of seventeen, is engaging, with a remarkable and moving chromatic slow variation.

Clearly reproduced also are Helmut Walcha's performances of Bach's Schübler Chorale Preludes on the St. Jakobi organ in Lübeck, and five other Chorale Preludes on the Schnitger organ in Cappel (Decca). Of the Schübler group the best-known, "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," is the most impressive; of the others I find "An Wasserflüssen Babylon" beautiful and "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein" engaging, but "Fuga sopra il Magnificat," "Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her," and "Valet will ich dir geben" less interesting. The peformances are good.

Fernando Valenti's harpsichord playing seems to me the finest, in its treatment both of the instrument and of the music, that is now to be heard, and lends interest to two otherwise uninteresting works of Bach—the Toccata in D minor and the Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro in E flat—that are on one record with the fine Toccata in E minor (Allegro).

The Haydn Piano Sonata No. 46 issued by the Haydn Society is the one that EMS issued as No. 43, and one of his best. Virginia Pleasants plays it with effective tempos, clarity, sensitiveness, and repose—as against the more turbulent pianistic brilliance of Rosen's EMS performance. No. 49, on the same Haydn Society record, I find uninteresting. And I would skip Soulima Stravinsky's performances of six other Haydn sonatas, most of them uninteresting (Allegro).

Friedrich Gulda's performances of Beethoven's Sonatas Opus 110 and Opus 27 No. 2 on one London record and Opus 106 ("Hammerklavier") on another are like the one of Opus 111 at his first recital in New York—remarkable for the accuracy and beauty of sound with which his clearly outlining conceptions of the music are executed, but with those outlines lacking the intensification and projective force that maturity may bring, and with the works lacking the strength that Beethoven's music should have. The inadequacy is greatest in Opus 106, least in the tranquil opening movement of Opus 110. And I should mention that Gulda's unusual treatment of the repeated A in measures 5 and 6 of the Adagio of Opus 110 doesn't work for me. The piano is well reproduced; but in addition to the audible hall resonance peculiar to London recording, the side with Opus 110 produces on my machine a pounding noise which it does not produce on a machine with limited bass.

Schumann's "Carnaval" (Columbia) is played well by Gyorgy Sandor; the recorded sound is glassy, and metallic in loud passages. The less familiar "Faschingschwank aus Wien" (Vanguard), played well by Jacqueline Blancard, I find uninteresting; and the Brahms Variations on a Theme of Schumann, on the reverse side, even more so.

Chopin's Ballades (Allegro) are played well by Leonid Hambro; even with bass enormously stepped up the piano sound is shallow (Casadesus's performances are even better, and are better reproduced). The Nocturnes (RCA Victor) are played by Rubinstein very beautifully in the traditional mannered style. Firkusny's performance of the great Sonata Opus 58 (Columbia) is something to skip.

Debussy's Etudes (REB) offer elaborations of the various elements of his piano style—most of them interesting only in that respect, a few engaging and impressive as music. They are played well by Charles Rosen.

With Henry Cowell's performances of a number of his piano pieces (Circle) comes a separate little record with his spoken comments on them, which would be more useful printed on the envelope. Cowell has devised ingenious ways of manipulating the strings of the piano directly to produce the sound of a harp, the wailing of a banshee, and other things of that kind; but the pieces achieve nothing of interest beyond their approximations of the sounds of the harp, the banshee, and so on. And I find myself not interested much more by the pieces whose substance is produced by the normal method of depressing the keys.

A reader thinks I gave a slightly misleading impression, in my discussion of the New York City Ballet's repertory, with the phrase "the inferior ballets of other choreographers." He points out that while these ballets are inferior to Balanchine's, "one, 'Illuminations,' is quite fine, and at least three others, 'The Duel,' 'Cakewalk,' and 'Mother Goose,' are slight but respectable—*i. e.*, not the actually shoddy stuff that you find in other companies."

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ROLFE HUMPHRIES, *The Nation's* poetry critic, has recently published a verse translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

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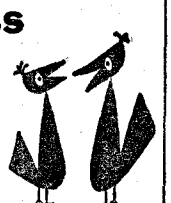

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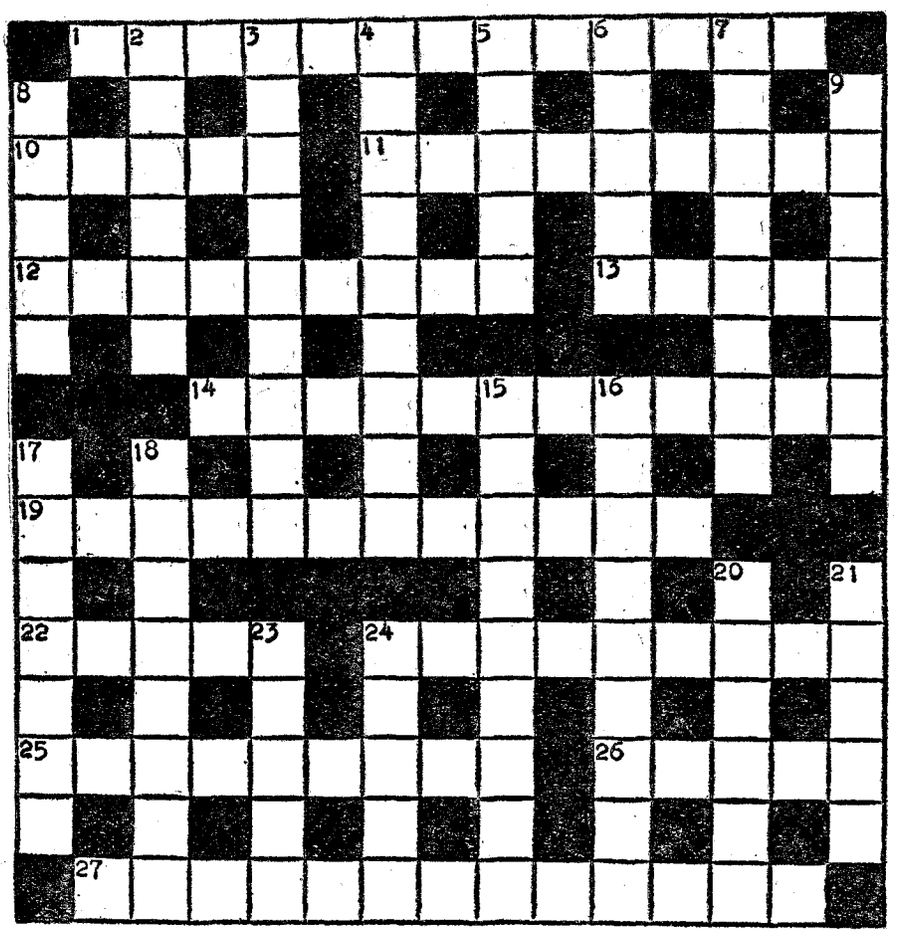

ACROSS

1 The life of a car? (13)
10 Deep in the Sierra Nevadas. (5)
11 S, M, T, etc.—any one! (3, 6)
12 Not paying the penalty for being twice guilty? (9)
13 Die; it's unnecessary with 11. (5)
14 Standing Pat? Not with too much of this! (5, 7)
19 One seldom sees them playing by themselves. (12)
22 Looks sullen like 8, in a way. (5)
24 Scolded too much? (In too high a class.) (9)
25 Made out of fancy material? (Panama hats—the A-minus sort.) (9)
26 Indian and many white brothers find dinner there! (5)
27 Smothered in a blanket, by the sound of it! (4-2-3-4)

DOWN

2 Did one of these have his house cave in? (6)
3 One might by tossing out the first question. (4, 5)
4 Do asinine people come from here? (9)
5 Held up and teased. (5)
6 A stake's supports. (5)
7 Crusoe's exclamation on seeing Friday's footprints? (8)
8 Spout beer or holy water from it! (5)
9 Certainly doesn't charge ahead! (7)
15 A little bluing might help to make one. (9)
16 An opinion to bury. (9)
17 Catch the flue! (7)
18 The goal of Rightists? (8)
20 People that get it on the house don't necessarily get swindled. (Unless someone gyps 'em?) (6)
21 Anthony's family needs a change! (5)
23 Stuffed dates. (5)
24 A man, alternatively his offspring. (5)

• • ● • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 449

ACROSS:—1 PROMISCUITY; 9 BENCH SAW; 10 EXTRAS; 11, 12 and 15 MATCHES ARE MADE IN HEAVEN; 14, 22 and 27 A PENNY FOR YOUR THOUGHTS; 17 PLAYGOER; 20 MATHER; 24 INDITES; 26 RESCUE; 28 EARTHLINESS.

DOWN:—2 ROCK CANDY; 3 MYSTERY; 4 SEWN; 5 UNEARTH; 6 TOTEM; 7 DECAMP; 8 HANDLE; 13 DIARY; 16 ASTRINGES; 18 LIONEL; 19 OPULENT; 20 MONSOON; 21 EVERTS; 23 YUCCA; 25 ET AL.

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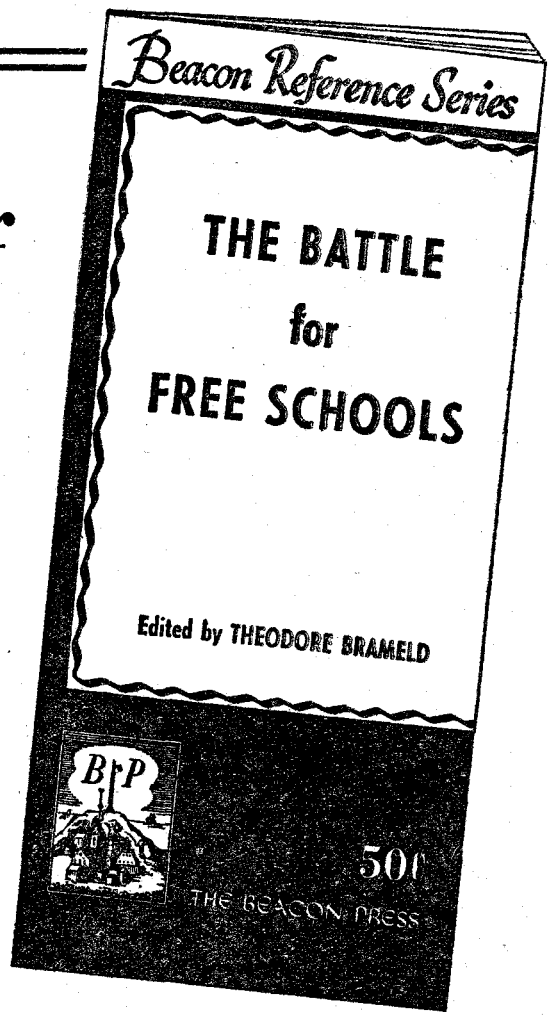

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